2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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hospitality involved both planning and expense. The Paramount's wife had to keep enough food stocks on hand not only to feed her own large family and household, but also to be able to respond to expected and unexpected guests. The Paramount's personal annual salary at that time was £60, out of which he had to keep his family and household in food and clothes and school fees, and pay for the upkeep of his house. The bulk of the cereals and some of the beans and other vegetables used in his house came from his fields worked by hired labour. Another source of food supply was the market 'custom', a small toll levied on the produce sold in the weekly market, which was paid chiefly in kind and put in the storehouses on the Paramount's *bwalo* to be used to feed his guests.[1]

The Paramount not only gave food and drink to the expected and unexpected visitors to the royal village. From time to time he gave a feast to which the Christians of the congregation of the mission church were invited, as on one New Year's Day when I was staying there. He gave a feast to all the neighbourhood on the occasion of his daughter's wedding. From time to time he invited all his people to dance *ligubo* or *ngoma* at the royal village and provided beer for all and food for the *alumuzana* and the chiefs and their wives. The organization of these big feasts demanded planning on a generous scale and a large outlay in maize for porridge and meat for relish. No feast at the Paramount's village was complete without meat enough to satisfy everyone.

The visitors, the feasts, the dances, all had their focal point in the royal residence in the royal village. There were two other focal points in the village where large numbers of people came regularly, and made the place where the Paramount lived a centre which brought his people together and brought him before them as their ruler. These were the market and the court-house which also housed his offices.

Before 1939 the market in the royal village was unique in the area for its size and the service which it rendered to the countryside. At any one time on a Saturday there would be 600 to 1,000 people present. In 1938 a second market was opened by the Paramount at Nsipe at the southern end of his territory. They were definitely his markets in that he allotted space for them; fixed the days on which they were held; controlled the policing of the market and the strangers' huts where sellers arriving overnight could sleep; fixed the prices according to seasonal variations in supply; and, as we have seen, collected 'custom' in lieu of rents for sites. The market at Maganga served an area extending roughly 15 miles to the east, 15 to the west and 10 miles to the north and south. It stretched in the east to below the escarpment whence came bamboo and

[1] An average weekly amount of custom reckoned over several weeks was 10*d.* in cash, and a quantity of bananas, sugar-cane, vegetables and cereals amounting to two sackfuls and sometimes three. The cash was levied on meat, 1*s.* 9*d.* per cow, 1*s.* 6*d.* per goat or pig; and on mats, baskets, etc. at roughly 1*d.* in the 1*s.*

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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sugar cane, and fish from the lake. From the west came sellers of food-stuffs, mainly maize and vegetables, from the villages in Portuguese territory. Whether by accident or design the sellers took up their stands in the market-place on the side to which they first came. Thus on the east side were the fish-sellers, who had carried their fish up the two escarpments from the lake during the night. Near them were the sellers of bamboo and bark-rope, reed and raffia mats, baskets of all kinds, wooden spoons and hoe handles. The vegetable sellers mostly from Portuguese villages were on the western edge of the market. In the centre under some trees were the butchers selling meat and cutting up the cattle, pigs and goats which they had killed in the early morning. Pottery was in another section, thread for bead-work and grass hats and bangles in another. On the edge of the market site were the Indian stores where, on market days, people with cash in hand from their sales bought cloth and had it made up by the tailors sitting with their sewing machines on the verandahs of the stores.

The Paramount's early life and marriage

The officials surrounding the Paramount in the central kingdom were aware that he had begun his rule under difficulties owing to the death of his father. Two texts on this follow, the first by the *induna* of the royal village, Kalilombe Mbewe, and the second by Ishmael Mwale the treasurer of the Paramount, neither of them members of trans-Zambesi clans, but both imbued with Ngoni sentiments and sense of values and devoted to the royal clan.[1] The first text emphasizes the action taken by the two big *izinduna* of the Paramount to hide and protect the young heir to the Paramountcy, and to look after the wives of the big house.

¶ Formerly we were on Domwe, and when we left there, we built the first village here and its name was Lizulu. When Gomani I was taken by the Europeans his *izinduna* Cakumbira Ndau and Mambeyu Moyo were here at Lizulu. When Gomani I was taken, his son Phillip Gomani was a young child. He stayed with Cakumbira Ndau, so did the big wives of Gomani I. Other wives of Gomani I went to their own families. Cakumbira took with him from Domwe his own cattle and those of the Paramount. When Gomani I was killed the Europeans did not ask about the child who would enter his place. Later when the people were accustomed to the Europeans, the Europeans asked: 'Who is the child who should enter his place?' And the senior men brought him out from hiding and said 'This is he.' The senior men revealed this because they knew that the war had finished and that he could not be killed.

The text by the treasurer takes up the story from the times when the existence of the heir to the Paramount was made known, and covers

[1] The fathers of both these men had been taken by the Ngoni from near the Kirk Range, and trained as warriors in Songea before returning to Nyasaland to the royal village on Domwe mountain.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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Mpezeni
Maravi FR4

time controlled from a mission station just inside Nyasaland, so that many people crossed to attend religious services and receive instruction. From Mpezeni's own county it is easier to get to the hospital at Fort Manning than to the one at Fort Jameson, so that people wanting European medicine tend to go to Nyasaland for treatment rather than to Fort Jameson. Nyasalanders are for their part attracted into Northern Rhodesia by the market for foodstuffs among the urban population, White and Black, of Fort Jameson and by the greater variety of goods on sale there.

Other Ngoni Groups

The Fort Jameson Ngoni are conscious of their links with the other groups of Ngoni scattered over Central Africa, and of their similarity with the Ndebele and the Swazi and Zulu. The Paramount Chief is sometimes praised by the recital in the Ngoni language of the past exploits of the Ngoni, how they crossed the Zambezi, and how they conquered one tribe after another. On one occasion I heard someone who cannot speak Ngoni praise the Paramount by repeating, in Ndebele, which is similar to Ngoni, a praise of Mzilikazi[1] which he had learnt by rote. This oration was accepted without comment by the Paramount. Lancaster has recorded a legend that Lobengula[2] fled to Mpezeni after the second Matebele War, and that he died in the country.[3] Some years after his installation Mpezeni II was visited by a delegation from Mombera, chief of the Ngoni of Northern Nyasaland, which, it is said, came to ratify Mpezeni's position as Chief of the Fort Jameson section of the Ngoni. An important headman in Mpezeni's county, who bears the same name as Chief Chiwere of the Ngoni of Dowa District, still claims from time to time that because his namesake and alleged relative is a chief, he too ought to be a chief.

Nsenga and Yao

The Ngoni are on more friendly terms with the Nsenga of Petauke District than with the other matrilineal tribes of the region. Some of the kinship ties that were formed as a result of intermarriage between the two tribes in the 1870's can still be traced, and their languages are similar. Mpezeni III went in 1944 with his first lieutenant and twenty-five followers to visit the Nsenga Chief Manjawanthu, and he is expected to return the invitation.

[1] The first Ndebele king. [2] Son of Mzilikazi, defeated by the Whites.
[3] Lancaster, p. 83. Cf. *British Central Africa Gazette*, 15 May 1896, p. 2, and Posselt, *Upangula the Scatterer*, pp. 112–24.